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The Genesis of the God Eshmun.—By GEORGE A. BARTON,
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It has long been recognized¹ that the god Eshmun is related to the god Adonis or Tammuz. Baethgen's statement that Tammuz was to the inhabitants of Palestine a foreign word as much as the Egyptian Osiris seems also to be borne out by the facts. The name Tammuz occurs only in Ezekiel 8:14, and is, since Ezekiel wrote from Babylonia, Dumuzu, a variant form of the Babylonian Duzu. The thesis of this paper is that Eshmun is the Phoenician name of Tammuz, or the Phoenician god corresponding to Duzu, so that Eshmun and Adonis are one.

This view seems to be justified by the following considerations:

1. As has been pointed out elsewhere² the old Semitic mother goddess and Tammuz are deities which in some form go back to primitive Semitic times, and it is to be expected that as the Semites scattered, different epithets would be attached to the same deity in different places. 2. It is recognized by all scholars that the equivalent of this deity existed in Palestine and Phoenicia. The testimony of Ezekiel, Lucian and others leaves no room for doubt on this point. 3. In extant inscriptions neither Tammuz nor Adonis occur, so far as I can find, as proper names. Adon occurs frequently, but always as an epithet of some god, Baal, Hamman, Eshmun, etc. 4. In contrast with this fact, is the fact that the name of Eshmun is of frequent occurrence in the inscriptions. Eshmun is as popular as one would expect Tammuz to be. 5. Eshmun was a god of the healing art, identified with the Greek Aesculapius (*CIS.* 143). Several scholars identify him with the Iolaos who in a Semitic myth in Greek dress saved the life of Hercules.³ Similar characteristics pertained to Tammuz, since the bringing back of the dead to life is but a heightened form of healing the sick.⁴ 6. In the development of the Semitic

¹ Cf. Movers, *Die Phoenizier*, Bd. I. (1841), p. 226 ff. and Baethgen's *Beiträge zur semitische Religionsgeschichte*, p. 44.

² *Hebraica*, X, 75 ff.

³ See Smith, *Rel. of Sem.*, 2 ed., 469, and Pietschmann, *Phoenizier*, 161.

⁴ Cf. Jeremias' *Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 7.

religion Astarte in course of time became associated with Baal, the two usually forming a pair. From the close relation which existed in early times between Tammuz and Ashtart one would naturally expect that if Tammuz survived at all, he would be closely associated with this pair. This, however, is just the position which is held by Eshmun in all the principal seats of Phoenician worship. At Carthage, Tanith, the equivalent of Ashtart, and Baal were worshipped in his temple (*CIS.* 252), while Hannibal, in ratifying the treaty with Philip of Macedon, swore by Heracles (Baal), and Iolaos (Eshmun), (Polybius, vii, 9, 2). Once *CIS.* 245) he is made into a compound deity with Ashtart, or at least united with her.¹ At Sidon his worship was very popular and took rank with that of Baal and Ashtart (*CIS.* 3). We learn from Philo of Biblos,² that at Tyre, Ashtarte, Zeus Demerous (Baal) and Adodos (i. e. some god called Adon, probably Eshmun), were the chief deities. At Kition and Idalion in Cyprus, where there were important temples of Ashtart, the worship of Eshmun flourished, as the many proper names from there into which he enters show. He is also in several inscriptions called Melqart, or "king of the city," a title given to Baal at Tyre. Indeed, it is probable that this indicates a conscious union of Eshmun and Melqart, and is another evidence of the close kinship for which we are contending. 7. With Eshmun as Aesculapius, there are associated two versions of a myth of his death and resurrection which are familiar to all classical scholars in two or more forms. This myth is probably a variant version of that which Lucian tells of Adonis at Gebal (Byblos).³ This is another link of evidence for their identity. 8. Adonis or Adon is only an epithet, not a name. It is an epithet often applied to Eshmun as the name Eshmun-adon, which was quite common, shows. If Baethgen is right, as I believe he is, in the view that the name Tammuz was unknown in Palestine and Phoenicia, it is clear that there must have been some other name for the god than Adon, an epithet which was applied indiscriminately to all the gods. I think, therefore, that the conclusion that this name was Eshmun is justified.

¹ Cf. my paper "West Semitic Deities with Compound Names," in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XX.

² See Orelli's *Sanchoniathontis Fragmenta*, p. 30.

³ See Lucian's *De Syria Dea*, §§ 6-9.

What the name Eshmun means and how it originated, it is hard to say. It was probably originally some kind of an epithet. Of the suggestions made, the one most worthy of credence is probably that of Lagarde (*Gr. Uebers. der Prov.*, p. 81), repeated by W. R. Smith (*Rel. of Sem.*, 2 ed., 469), viz.: that the name is to be connected with the Arabic سَمَانِي, "quail," because in the myth Iolaos brought Heracles to life by giving him a quail to smell of.